5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work. Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215).

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts

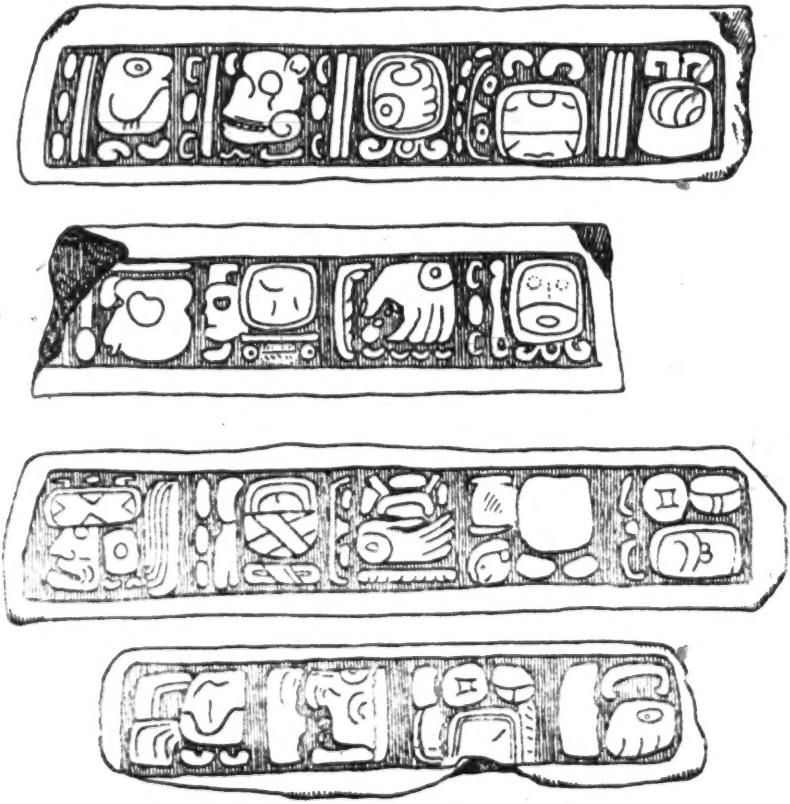


Fig. 198—Toniná, Chis. Drawing of Monument T-7.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter fact, it appears, that from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the inhabitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from the ruins to the village.

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] →

[126] →

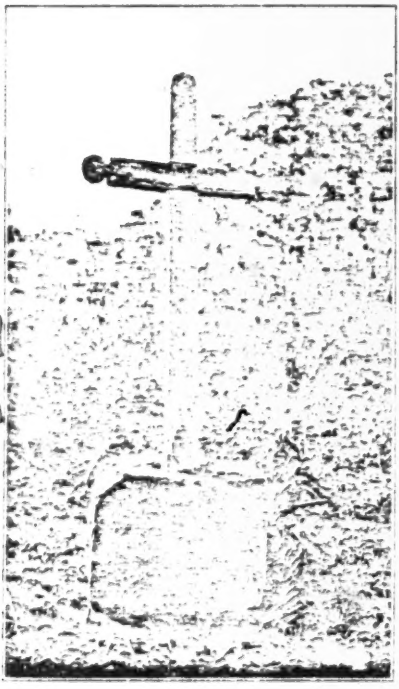


Fig. 199—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument 1-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahau 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning.

This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the Ubala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital.

On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the country of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the Highland Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys, living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number, and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

At this point, before describing our trip up into the true mountain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people, their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an exhaustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages. At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar, who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable information. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we dealt helped us in every way possible.*

The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the mountain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya. In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land, occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

*The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1702) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Ernesto Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1902) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Tozzer (1907) and Sapper (1925) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordliche Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as possible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

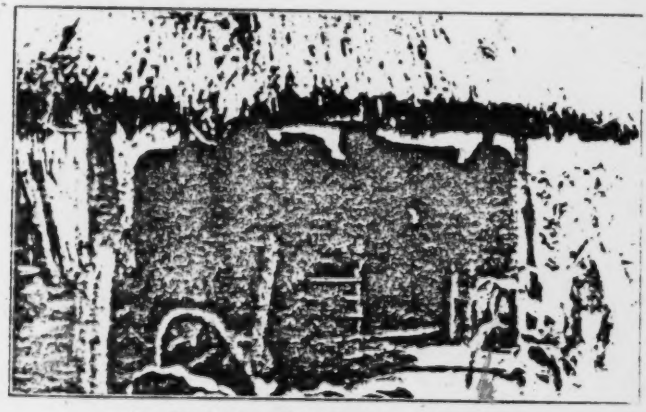
At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna'*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na'*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestee-pat* (should be *lestee-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves. It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajon
Tenango
Sivacá

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency. 323

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ya pas ŏcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivacá. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the 323 123



343

Fig. 296—Tenango, Chis. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation. 323 123 [245] [126]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Sivacá

286 126 123 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig. 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301). The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-

323

FIG. 299—Sivacá, Chis. Pottery Forms.

A. Ocom. B. Pók'et. C. Tsametz. D. Hor'mo. E. Hutstahibe. F. Tseta. G. Awaliko. H. Teistcinaix.

286 126 123 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—"*dice que tiene verguenza*" — but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

[286] [291] [142] [302] [516]

FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

283 The spindle, *pětět*, is a stick 85 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law.

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. Informal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife.

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes.

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters.

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism.

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and therefore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a remniscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk.

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober.

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance.

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value.

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci.

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313).

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging.

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and

FIG. 313—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhommie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the *Presidente Municipal,* the *Secretario,* and council of *Regidores,* elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are absolutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing unwilling to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles, jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Laud.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

Fig. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

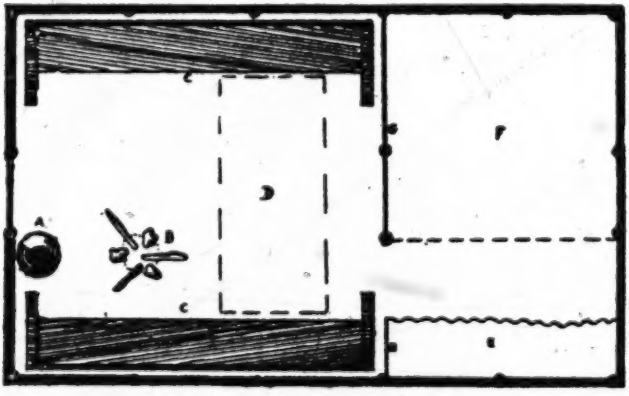


Fig. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenejapa

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula packtrains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

FIG. 329—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The

*Starr (1902) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS

Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below 1600	1600—1650	1650—1700	Above 1700	Total
1,597	1,722	1,492	230	75	13	6	1	100

	Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range
CEPHALIC INDEX	76.9	86.4	66.0	18.5
FACIAL INDEX	91.6	94.5	82.6	29.0
NASAL INDEX	98.8	102.2	64.1	38.2

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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193 This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal	—	—	—	—	n	—	—
Dental	—	ts tc	ts' tc'	j. c	—	—	—
Labial	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal	'	—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."

ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."

tc is the *ch* in English "child."

c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

Vowels. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinc-
[124] tions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great
[126] regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kÆ-* as *kĕ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ĕ*) as in Eng-

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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193 lish "met," short *i* (*ĭ*) as in English "mix," long *u* (*ū*) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (*ŭ*) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ŭ* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai, oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ′ in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

000 INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

124 The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don 115 Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

000 The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitan, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically coöperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

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[122]

that they were present. I took no active part in the recording, since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed him to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

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159 875 563 177 178 557

acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

159 875 871 563 177 178 557 [123] [126]

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

Appendix 1

Settlement of Domestic Cases

A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanchetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

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Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was. Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*
Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*
Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*
Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*
Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*
Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*
Victorio: *No, nothing.*
Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*
Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*
Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*
Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*
Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*
Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*
Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

695 593 578 586 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife, who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

695 593 578 586 126 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what has happened.*

Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*

Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*

Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*

Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*

Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*

Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*

Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*

Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*

Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*

Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*

Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*

Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*

Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*

Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*

Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*

Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*

Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*

Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

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fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?"

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time [refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money].*

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for" [refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family]. The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino [Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act]. We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say. [Speaking to huband] But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they [husband's family] take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

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Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he cannot support them.*

Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.* 695 593 578 586
Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.* 122
Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*
Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*
Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*
Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*
Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*
Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*
Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*
Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*
Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*
Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*
Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*
Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*
Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*
Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

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695 593 578 586 126 *from when I was asking for her [refers to betrothal expenses]. When the debt is paid off, then I can.*

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart. [To husband] Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe [obey] this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you [refers to judges].*

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre. [Rises and leaves].*

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

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Appendix 2

Bloodletting in a Witchcraft Case

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The following conversation is from a transcription of a tape recorded in Tzeltal at the home of the curer during a curing ceremony for a man whose illness was diagnosed as caused by witchcraft. The patient arrived at eight-thirty in the morning. Present are the patient, his wife, the curer, his two sons, their wives, his wife's father, and the interviewer who helped me collect the data. The curer's family helped in the bloodletting because his hands shook so badly with palsy that he could not control them.

Curer's Wife: *How did it begin, compadre?*

Patient: *It began in the month of April when I brought my horse to the threshing mill at six o'clock in the morning. As the other horses entered, one pushed his hoof into my stomach. My body was frightened, and I could not bear the pain.*

Patient's Wife: *He couldn't do anything but cry when he came out.*

Interviewer: *Where did the pain begin?*

Patient: *It began in my leg. My whole body and my leg ached a great deal. It was so numb I couldn't feel anything. My child stayed in the threshing shelter three days. A little later I went to hot country and stayed there. My son asked if I was going down to hot country, and I said, "Yes. I am going to look at my horse. I will return soon." I was of one heart until yesterday, and then I lost my heart. A man told me that he wanted another horse. It was Emilio Čilol who told me, "Boy, I want another horse." "It is good. I will get it," I said. "Yes, I will get it." I went to get it yesterday with another horse. I caught him and handed him over along with his companion. Then the pain began. I felt I couldn't bear it. It is for this reason that I came to you.*

Patient's Wife: *Take the gift, father.* [*Hands liquor to curer.*] *It is for this that I came. His illness is much stronger today.*

Patient: *Truly I could not endure it when I arrived home yesterday. I felt I should come to the elder to be cured and hear what he says. It is for this that I came asking for a favor.*

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
• 126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He* [Emilio] *told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another* [*speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor*] *to the women.*
[273] [554] [*All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.*]
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission.* [*Drinks his liquor.*]
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter!* [*Meaning, "Drink the liquor."*]
[*The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."*]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[*Drinking continues.*]
Curer's Father-in-law [*pouring blood into a saucer*]: *Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother.* [*He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.*]
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[*Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.*]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

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Curer: *There truly.*
Curer's Elder Son: *It is the same* [*meaning, the gourds are yielding the same kind of blood*]. *Please, Čiko, help a little.*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, I will help a little.*
Patient's Father-in-law: *Is there a little water?* [*He wanted to know if there was a little more water to dip his flower, the* čiliwet, *to sprinkle water on the patient.*]
Patient: *It pains a lot, man!*
Curer's Younger Son: *Yes, it does.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is coming out very well with this larger gourd.*
Patient: *I can stand it.*
Curer's Wife: *Whoever comes, he* [*her husband*] *can bleed.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *The women are tired now.*
Patient: *Because they are beginning to feel drunk.*
Women: *No, we only smelled the cup!* [*Laughter; drinking continues.*]
Patient: *Oh, I am tired.*
Women: *It* [*the bleeding gourd*] *is very big.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Do you have another gourd? There is one over there.*
Curer's Wife: *Where? Me? Angela lost it.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *Did you find it?*
Curer's Wife: *No, it stayed there. Look, look well. I will put it here. My sister wanted a bloodletting, and she did not endure it. She got drunk.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *He endured well.*
Curer's Wife: *Why didn't you bring back a little liquor? You are deceiving us.*
Liquor Pourer: *No, because you did not drink it. I am going to bring another.*
Patient [to Curer's Wife]: *Did you drink liquor at the other bloodletting?*
Curer's Wife: *No. We only ate what they gave us.*
Curer: *I don't drink. I used to drink when I was well. When I bled Manuel, I did not get drunk for that.*
Curer's Wife: *When the curer went to see Manuel, one of his arms did not work.*
Curer: *That man endured curing very well. We have to endure. What can you do?*
Patient: *Yes, it is the same sickness he had. There is much air in your hand. It* [*gourd*] *is not sucking any more.*
Patient's Wife: *Your blood is afraid. So it is.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *When there is much air in the hand of the curer, you have to take wax and glass.*

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755 [*Curer's Wife passes cloth to wipe blood.*]
• 126 Curer: *Another pull.*
Patient: *Please, favor of God!*
Curer: *Formerly I did everything. I pricked the skin, I put on the gourd. I did everything when I was well. Now I cannot do it. My illness has lasted a long time.*
Curer's Wife: *He cannot even get up well. He doesn't eat. When he takes coffee in his hand, he cannot drink well.*
Curer: *I cannot eat beans or beef.*
Curer's Wife: *He can only drink coffee.*
[*The curing is over. The patient and his wife leave shortly.*]

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Appendix 3

Observation of Behavior in Public Places

A. Observation in Church

Sunday morning, August 1

5:40 The mayordomos are sitting on stone benches in front of the church. They are quiet.

6:10 Two men go up and ring the bells.

6:23 A man kneels in front of the altar and prays.

6:35 Two men come down from the bell tower. The mayordomos have now moved to the opposite side in the front of the church and are standing around talking.

6:45 Two men go up to the bell tower, ring the bells for three minutes, then repeatedly with no intervals.

7:05 Two women and a boy in Ladino dress kneel in front of Santa Lucía.

7:15 Two women and two girls (five and seven years of age perhaps) kneel in front of Santa Lucía. One of the women has two candles; she lights one. The other women with fresh flowers places them in front of Santiago, touches her candle to him, and then places it in one of the glasses on the altar that is near his statue.

7:23 Two women and a little boy carrying two candles come in and kneel in front of Santa Lucía. A boy of about twelve or thirteen who came in with the first two women had been sitting in front of Santa Lucía but now that quite a few women are here, he has moved over to the men's side.

7:30 One man comes down from the bell tower. All mayordomos come in and light the candles in front of their saints, then leave church.

7:35 Two men genuflect in front of the baptistry (facing baptistry), make the sign of the cross, and then kneel facing the main altar. (Genuflection is a sign of adoration officially and is only supposed to be done facing the Blessed Sacrament.)

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7:45 Miguel, the former fiscal, enters, goes to the left side of the altar, prays a few minutes, goes to a stool in front, and sits there. (He is the only Indian who uses stool to kneel on.) A man with a little girl goes to Santiago, kisses his statue, then kneels and prays in front of him.

7:50 One remaining mayordomo (the rest went home) enters and speaks to the women. Some are leaving now. They kiss altars on the way out, sometimes making the sign of the cross before they kiss the altar. Two women come to me to tell me, "There is no mass."

8:00 Two of the women take out the old flowers in the vases and add the new ones.

8:10 Another woman tells me, "There is no mass." All the women except one have left. The two who fixed the flowers are carrying the old flowers out with them. The woman who stayed is praying out loud now in front of Santa Lucía.

8:20 Two men enter, face the door, make the sign of the cross, and then go up to the front of the church, kneeling now and praying out loud. A man, barefoot, in Ladino dress and carrying a bulging leather bag, enters and kneels in front of the main altar to pray.

8:40 One woman is still wailing (about one-half hour now). A man enters, kneels for one minute in front of the side altar facing the main altar. He goes to Santa Lucía, kisses the altar, goes to all the other altars except one in the front left, and then leaves. The woman stops wailing. She picks three daisies from the vase, touches them four times to the glass front of Santa Lucía's case, kisses them, and leaves them lying on the altar. She kisses each statue on the way out except the statue to the left front.

8:45 Of the mayordomos who are now coming back, five enter the church. One takes Santiago and puts him in the baptistry, then leaves. Two more make the rounds of the statues, pausing a moment in front of each one, then kissing it and moving on. One of them puts money in the coffin-case slot for offerings. They all leave within five minutes. One of the men takes two of the drums with him.

9:15 Men are talking and laughing outside. Once in a while it is quiet. Some begin to play the drum and flute. This lasts for three minutes.

9:20 Another piece is begun, lasting four minutes. One man comes in, kneels facing the front side altar, and after two minutes leaves.

9:45 Two mayordomos begin to play music but don't continue.

10:45 The mayordomos are drinking the liquor left from Santiago's fiesta.

11:00 Some mayordomos are playing the drum and flute.

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11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

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The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the [191] class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate.

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by x, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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126 them a mirror, tells them what it is called, and lets the children look at themselves in it. About one-fourth of the class responds. She pastes a picture on the blackboard of a man carrying a valise accompanied by a dog and a boy. She asks what each object is called in Spanish and practices the name of the object with the whole class. Visual aids are pictures cut from coloring books or magazines, things she draws on the board, as well as articles from a box stored in her desk including a comb, mirror, glass, flag, color wheel, cut-outs of a boy, girl, chair, table, bear, soldier, flower, and leaf. After practicing the names of each, she stands in the back of the room and tells different children to bring the various objects to her. After drawing two ducks on the board and getting no reaction from the children when she asks them the name, she tells them and then leads them in practicing it.

She asks them the name of the town, of the school director, of the school, and when they fail to respond, she tells them and has them repeat the words over and over.

She leads the class in about five different songs she has taught them. The number of children who know the songs varies from one-fourth to three-fourths, with about one-fifth never singing. Some attempt a word every once in a while. She sings the elephant song, which most of them know and which utilizes their knowledge of numbers from one to five. Twice, when a few children begin to sing on their own initiative, she tells them to be quiet. She asks them, "Do you like to sing?" and all respond, "Yes, teacher."

The teacher seldom smiles at the children. As they leave the room in single file, she rebukes any who attempt to run out or pair with another.

[857] *Recess.* Two boys are fighting and three others join with one of them. The one who has been ganged up on finally gets away, and they do not chase him. Boys around ten years old play keep-away with a ball on their own initiative. There isn't much teamwork. Often one boy will get the ball and run with it, the other boys after him. Finally he will throw it to someone or someone will take it away from him. The girls sit in groups, sometimes embroidering or knitting. Some boys just stand by watching those who are playing.

In the classroom after recess. The teacher shows the color wheel and asks the names of the colors to which she points. A couple of girls put their hands in their ears while the class is reciting. When the teacher asks for a volunteer to hold the color wheel in the demonstration, approximately twenty out of the fifty-four children raise their hands. One little boy in the back pays

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no attention; he was one who had sat by himself on the bandstand at recess.

They practice counting from one to five. The teacher then writes the numbers on the blackboard with A E I O U written above them. They practice these for about five minutes. She says them first; they repeat. She then picks a child to point to them, and the class repeats after the child. More children pay attention when the child is directing the class. She has ten volunteers for this job. They use sticks when counting to ten, passing them from one hand to the other. A few are doing it right. Although some count correctly, they do not have the right number of sticks correlated with the number spoken. They proceed to copy pictures the teacher has drawn on the board. The teacher asks one girl why she isn't drawing. The girl says she has no pencil. The teacher says nothing and goes on down the aisle.

The children are dismissed from class and line up, each grade together, in front of the school; the teacher tells them to be sure to come that afternoon or she will punish them tomorrow.

Afternoon

The teacher comes in to say a few words to the children (for my benefit, I suppose). She calls up one little girl and reprimands her in front of the group for coming to school with her hair uncombed and with dirty clothes. The child is frightened and hesitant about coming forward, and the teacher shows more impatience. The child's head is cast down all the time her teacher speaks to her. [123]

Vowel practice is resumed. The children are told to erase the vowels they have written in their books and write them over. The teacher has each of the aisles recite the vowels in turn. She asks which of the aisles is best. There is no response from the children; she never says which is best.

Two little boys are writing numbers in their books while some of the others are reciting. The teacher takes the pencils out of their hands and puts them on the table. They pick them up when she is no longer looking and continue writing. A little girl begins to cry. She says, when the teacher asks why she is crying, that the boy in front of her hit her. The teacher tells her to hit him back, which she proceeds to do. The boy shows no reaction at all.

They drill about twenty minutes. A few leaders answer while the rest chime in. "Take out pencil and notebook," the teacher orders. About two-thirds respond. She asks them what things there are in the plaza. One little boys replies, "Č'ulna" (Tzetal for church). She ignores him and names in Spanish the

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buildings in the plaza. She then draws two men and three pieces of fruit. She stands and watches as the children draw the figures in their notebooks. Many of them show each other what they have drawn. One little boy draws a bus, with seats inside and people sitting in them.

She shows them a cut-out of a chair. The first time she asks them what it is, a few answer "bear," a word they had been practicing before. She asks one child who responds correctly. They practice the word "chair." They practice the difference between *niño* and *niña* (boy and girl). She uses cut-outs of a boy and girl in western dress. Two make mistakes when she asks them to state which is niña and which niño; four get it correctly after they have practiced. She shows a picture of a boy with a train. "What is he doing?" she asks. *"Juganding"* (playing) replies one. The teacher teaches them *"está jugando."*

Some are writing, some looking out the door; others talk in small groups. The majority are watching the teacher as she talks and demonstrates different objects and says their names. They know door and window when she points to these and asks them to name them. She now puts all the visual-aid objects on the table and tells various individuals to bring them to her when she asks for a specific object. "Chair, niño, niña," "Bear," "Soldier," "What thing is lacking yet?" The children answer, "A table." The teacher sends a child to get it. They seem to like this game. There are volunteers to go and get things. They know the objects and so are sure they can bring the correct ones.

The children tend to kneel on the benches, which are high for the smaller ones. The teacher is continually telling them to sit down. A couple of little girls begin to sing. She reproves them and when they continue, she says to them, "Do you remember the animals?" "Yes, teacher," they chorus. "What animal would you like me to draw on the board?" Finally, one boy says, "Chicken." After she has drawn the chicken, the students copy it. She goes around the class and puts a line through the drawing if she approves of it. She finds all of them satisfactory.

The teacher next shows the students a flag, which they are to draw in their notebooks. A bigger girl helps a small boy. The Teacher then asks who knows the recitation about the flag. Three students raise their hands, and sing a song about the flag. Three girls in the back are still drawing in their notebooks. They spend a lot of time erasing so they can use their notebooks over again.

One little girl helps a little boy who has no pencil draw his picture. Another little boy does not draw for the same reason, but when he tells the teacher his problem she does not respond.

She draws pictures around vowels and doesn't explain them to the children,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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simply telling them to copy the drawings in their notebooks. Their drawings seem to show that they have not seen the connection with the vowels.

She then sings a song that has accompanying gestures (points to stars, hands covering face, hands under head as when sleeping, and so on). A few students seem to know when to do what and understand the words; most of the others copy them.

At four-thirty the classroom teacher tells the children to line up in single file, girls first. She shouts, "No!" as some attempt to run out together. As they line up, each grade together in front of the school, the schoolteacher tells them to be sure to come the next day or she will punish them.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

174 segments of different breadth of inclusion, it is possible that
613 the Indian last name was a smaller lineage segment than the
551 Spanish last name, or, as it occurs in other Chiapas villages, that the Indian name was the lineage name and the Spanish name the clan name, but that clans have disappeared in Aguacatenango. The result is that there are more Indian than Spanish names, and sometimes a Spanish name, such as Hernandez, has within it the patrilines Wayal, Obispo and Chalté, while Perez has the patrilines Ich, Tuluk and Chauk.

613 At the present time, the patriline is very shallow. Connections are lost frequently after the second ascending generation and the localized agnatic line includes only three, or at best four, adjacent generations, when the linking relative in the higher generation is still alive or recently deceased and still remembered.

613 The Indian name, which indicates the patriline, is not
551 known by many people in the younger generation, and older people are reluctant to mention the subject. With the influence of the
[829] Mexican system of naming (which includes both the Spanish last name of the father and the mother), the older villagers are becoming aware that westerners do not have the same descent name system, and are embarrassed to discuss this subject with non-villagers, although in Tzeltal conversations among themselves they identify people through them.

•126 We did collect some patriline names (which are Tzeltal
613 words for animals and natural phenomena), but unfortunately the
551 limited field-work season did not allow for more detailed
602

investigation, so that we could not pin down all patriline names to the respective genealogies.

We do have evidence, however, that the patriline is (or was) exogamous. In the first place, the villagers are very insistent that "people of the same name should not marry," and at the present time, this rule seems to be influencing the choice of marriage partners even in the Spanish name group; on the other hand, we have one case which explicitly indicates so: one of the village women, Ceveriana, reported that when her present husband asked her to marry, she was very worried that her marriage was going to be "sinful" because both she and her future husband had the same Spanish last names: Hernandez. Not knowing what to do, they consulted a village elder, who asked them for their Indian last names. When he found out that their Indian surnames were different (Wayal and Chalté), he reassured them that it was permitted for them to marry "because they did not have the same Indian name." (See genealogy, Fig. 14.)

Patriline exogamy, however, does not seem to be associated with preferential marriage. In other villages in the highlands of Chiapas, the informants state that it is preferred to marry a woman of one's mother's name group. In Aguacatenango, however, out of 161 marriages in which all the relevant names were known, only twenty-three men had married women of their mother's name group. Even in the case in which preferential marriages would be the ideal choice (and they never have been stated as such), the practice does not follow it.